UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor in Chief

Louis L. Mann
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Associate Editors

Reflections Crossing the Atlantic

By SYDNEY STRONG

Kagawa of Japan

By PAUL DROST

Motion Pictures and America's Good Name

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

Light and Air Bathing in Germany

By HELENE ALPERS HAHN

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

John Haynes Holmes Makes a Speaking Tour

Nov. 2—evening, Chicago, Sinai Temple.
3—evening, Hammond, Ind. Forum.
4—evening, Cleveland. Council of Jewish Women.
5—evening, Chicago. Church of the Good Shepherd.
6—morning, Chicago. Abraham Lincoln Center.
6—evening, Chicago. Congregation B'nai Abraham—for The Fellowship of Faiths.
8—morning, Chicago. Chicago University Chapel.
8—evening, Chicago. Sunday Evening Club.
9—evening, Champaign, Ill. Hillel Foundation Forum.
10—11 A. M., Evanston, Ill. Northwestern University.
10—afternoon, Chicago. Palmer House, Grand Ball Room. for World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.
11—noon, Erie, Pa. Erie Peace Council.
11—evening, Erie, Pa. Men's Club, Congregation Anshe Hesed.

First All-Asian Women's Conference*

Resolutions Passed at the Sessions Held at Lahore, India, January, 1931

1. Culture

This Conference urges the necessity of retaining the high spiritual consciousness which has been the fundamental characteristic of the people of Asia throughout the millenia, and desires that the women of Asia maintain that high standard, uninfluenced by the materialistic trend of modern times.

2. Education

In view of the high rate of illiteracy in Asia as a continent, the representatives of the womanhood of Asia, assembled at the First Asian Women's Conference, call on the peoples of the countries specifically concerned and on the Governments of these countries to follow the precedent of Japan and institute and enforce free and compulsory primary education for every boy and girl as the fundamental necessity of progress in the various Asian countries and in Asia as a whole.

3. Religion

This Conference realizing the important part that religion plays in the moulding of individual and national character, is of opinion that in order to promote a spirit of religious tolerance, love and harmony amongst communities, the lives and teachings of great religious leaders should be taught in schools, and a comparative study of the great religions of the

(*Continued on page* 111)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CVIII MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1931 Number 7

ANTIDOTE FOR DISCOURAGEMENT

Having believed everything all right, many jump to the opposite extreme of believing everything all wrong. What has before been their instinctive impulse to accept everything in the world as it has been found is transformed to a determination to reject all established things. Defects in the present organization of society and in all of its institutions are held to demand total extinction and a completely new beginning in the organization of human affairs. The Church is adjudged all wrong because it is not all right, colleges are held to be total failures because not complete successes, democracy is charged with being inevitably weak because not always strong, the established social order is held to be wholly corrupt because far from being completely virtuous: whereas, clearer vision would reveal that the Church is to unprecedented degree stripping itself of Pharisaisms and hypocrisy and looking back to the fundamental principles of Christianity; colleges, at home and abroad, were never so effective in serving their own generation, democracy was never more pervasive and more genuine, and the social order moves steadily, if slowly, away from coarseness, brutality, and cruelty into an atmosphere of greater kindness, fairness, and justice than the world has ever known before. It is a reasonable rule that we measure progress by the distance covered from our starting point rather than by the length of road remaining to be traversed.

—Ernest Martin Hopkins,
President of Dartmouth College.

We wonder if Mr. Hoover is learning anything from the public response elicited by his attempts to help out the economic situation at home and abroad. All observers agree that the President's moratorium proposal of last June was issued fearfully, under stress of dire conditions abroad; and that there was immense astonishment as well as satisfaction in the White House that it was so unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed. Yet the President has hesitated to follow this up with an extension of the moratorium to five years! Now comes another great outburst of public applause in support of the administration's proposal for the relief of banks and the release of "frozen credits." The program suggested is technical and we doubt if many persons outside of financial circles understand it, but it looks like a constructive effort to meet the exigencies of a catastrophic situation, and the people are grateful. Must not Mr. Hoover see, in the face of such an experience, that what the people want is *leadership?* And has he not imagination enough to comprehend that, in times like these, the bolder the leadership is, the more popular it is likely to be? We believe that there is no one thing which has hurt the President so much in public favor during the past two years as his inactivity and apparent timidity. The people would have pardoned a dozen mistakes, if there had only been action of the Cleveland or the Roosevelt type. Now that the President is lifting the banner and issuing the word of command, relief is everywhere manifest. If Mr. Hoover wants to recover his lost popularity, let him strike right out with boldness, even audacity. Let him extend the moratorium, call for disarmament, ask for a sweeping reduction of the tariff, summon the nations to a credit and currency conference, etc. World leadership of this heroic and far-visioned type would save Europe, and incidentally make Herbert Hoover the most powerful and popular statesman of his time.

During our stay in Germany this past summer, a trusted student of German affairs told us that two supreme crises were ahead for that distracted country. One was due in October when the Reichstag met, and the republic would either be transformed into a dictatorship, or else be seized by the Hitlerites. The other would come in March, at the climax of the winter misery, when a successor to President von Hindenburg would have to be chosen. The former of these two crises appeared precisely according to our informant's schedule. One of his two alternates was likewise realized—the National Socialists and their allies were defeated only by the device of establishing a dictatorship. For it will be well for us to recognize that the German republic as such is gone, and in its stead rules an absolutism of the Mussolini type. Bruening, to be sure, is no Mussolini—but his powers, as established by dictatorial decree, are the same. Thus, the provisions of the Weimar Constitution safeguarding the inviolability of personal liberty, of a man's home, of postal and telegraphic secrecy, of the right of free speech and free assembly, have all been indefinitely suspended. But this is by no means the end nor the worst, for the edict also suspends the constitutional articles guaranteeing the inviolability of private property. After this, of course, as the *Nation* well says, there is "nothing left but the shell of a republic." Incidentally, also—to change the figure!—the way is being beautifully paved for the advent of Hitler, or even of the Communists. For what better could these violent extremists desire

than just such preparations for the tyrannies of which they dream? The plight of Germany is certainly desperate when resort has to be had to measures of this kind to hold the nation together. It will be interesting to see how long this absolutist rule can subdue a people who are daily slipping more deeply into the pit of economic and social ruin.

We know of few things more pathetic than the election which has just been fought out in Britain. The outcome, not known as we write but which we anticipate will be a Tory victory, does not at the moment concern us at all. What we have in mind is the tragedy of the war so fiercely waged, with cruel blows and bleeding wounds upon both sides, between Ramsay MacDonald and his old comrades of the Labor Party. The cynic, the misanthrope, may get joy out of this spectacle. We can not! All we can think of is the thirty and more years in which these men battled shoulder to shoulder against the forces of entrenched privilege, bore ignominy and outlawry together, suffered defeat after defeat and still were happy, and always loved one another as comrades in a great and holy cause. Then dawned their day of triumph—and now it is swallowed up in the black night of bitterness and hate. No longer do they fight their enemy, but only one another. Here is tragedy—tragedy so deep and dire that we are not interested any more in assessing blame. It is true that Mr. MacDonald seems to us to be the architect of ruin, and his melancholy fate, which will inevitably be contemptuous dismissal by the Tories when they are done with him, is his fitting punishment. H. G. Wells, in his recent interview, pointed out the faults in the man which have wrought his doom. But blame, as we have just said, no longer concerns us. What we see is the failure of a group of hardy warriors to seize the citadel which they had been besieging for a generation, when it was all ready to fall, and the internecine strife which has followed upon this failure. But there is little time to weep. The work of years, now lost, must be begun again. And here we find our hope in that hardy little group of men who comprise the Independent Labor Party. What the I. L. P. did once, it can do once more—and better!

Meanwhile, what is going to happen in England? We do not know, but we are wondering if it is altogether unlikely that a dictatorship is near. If so, who will be the dictator? It is this question, we must confess, that sets us thinking about this man Winston Churchill. A curious man! His qualities are of the most brilliant order. His mind ranges so fast and far that few other minds can follow it, and many a plan, like Gallipoli, for example, has failed because of the inability of other men to keep pace with its creator. His physical energies are enormous, and show no signs of abatement. As an orator he is the master of every worthy art, as well as of every unworthy trick, of public speech. His self-confidence is boundless, his audacity consummate, his courage titanic. His weakness is a certain impetuosity, instability, erratic pride, which he inherits directly from his father, Lord Randolph Churchill. His only rival is Lloyd-George, but the latter is a demagogue where Churchill is still a statesman, and furthermore the Welshman is ill and old. What is sinister is Churchill's return, in the present chaotic crisis, to the good graces of the Conservatives. This leaves only two men between himself and the seat of power. One is Ramsay MacDonald who, if elected to the Commons, will in due course be kicked aside by the Tories who want no renegade Laborite at their head. The other is Stanley Baldwin, popular, amiable, well-intentioned but the type of man who is among the very first to be engulfed in a real storm. If things go from bad to worse in England, as they seem not unlikely to do, and if parliamentary government breaks down, as it seems likely to do, we shall not be at all surprised to see Winston Churchill become the Mussolini of the British Isles.

The fame of the late THOMAS A. EDISON was greater than that of any other American, with the possible exception of Charlie Chaplin. Unlike most great inventors, he had the good fortune to conceive devices which entered directly into the daily life of the people, and which frequently had an almost incredible dramatic value. What could be more practically useful, for example, than the incandescent electric light bulb? This shines as a perpetual memorial to Edison in every household in America and almost in the entire world. In the same way, what could be more dramatic than the talking machine and the moving picture? These two inventions almost daily remind the myriads of mankind of the wizardry that dwelt in the mind of this strange inventor. Edison, it is comforting for us ordinary mortals to remember, did not always succeed. Thus, he failed completely to solve the problem of storing electricity in a battery. But he succeeded so many times, and clothed his devices in such amazing forms, that he remains, as he will always remain, the miraculous master of the great age of mechanical invention. As a man, Edison had all the virtues of the scientific tribe. He was modest, patient, tolerant, hard-working, absorbed in his task, unselfish. If he became world-famous, it was not because of any conscious effort on his part. If his name was unhappily commercialized, it was because of the irresistible forces operating in the world in which he functioned. He himself asked only to be let alone—forgotten, if you will—that he might follow the next quest in his scientific laboratory. Edison was one of the really great men of earth. It is to the honor of the world that he was recognized as such in his own time.

UNITY is again called upon to mourn the passing of an old and devoted friend, Rev. CHARLES E. BEALS, for years one of our Editorial Contributors. Mr. Beals's connection with our paper began years ago with his friendship with Jenkin Lloyd Jones, when the two men were joined in peace work in Chicago. Mr. Beals, as Secretary of the Chicago Peace Society, naturally sought out Mr. Jones, leading champion of the pacifist cause through all that mid-western region, and the two became devoted comrades. For both were simple, sincere, humble, courageous, and utterly uncompromising idealists. Mr. Beals paid the price of his pacifist convictions during the War—he was one of the few clergymen who never retreated a single inch and would be heard. Days, even years, of distress followed this direful experience, but Mr. Beals neither faltered nor complained, but held to his steadfast way. Latterly he was happy and useful in the service of churches and manifold good causes. His daughter writes us that, to the very end, he was tireless in his modest and self-forgetting work for a better world—always, of course, for peace.

He cast his influence for good up to the last. Only the week he died he visited the Congressman of his district to get him interested to take measures for peace at the Conference in 1932. He also spoke Wednesday (four days before his death) on changing our present capitalistic system before the Kiwanis Club.

Mr. Beals was the most humble as well as loving of men. He was the last to make any claim to virtue or achievement. But his virtue was that of the pure, disinterested soul, and his achievement that of the man who is resolutely faithful to the highest ideal. We shall miss him from our company.

Editorial Reflections Crossing the Atlantic

It is not like the old days. One now has to get permission to go beyond the border, as a child gets permission from teacher to leave the room, or as the Japanese did in old feudal days to go from city to city. One has to give his pedigree (it hasn't come to finger-prints yet), pay six dollars, later pay five dollars to the government through the steamship office—making eleven dollars in all—and present two photographs, one for the passport and the other for the family-album in Washington. Then, there is waiting for a week. And then—attended with some anxiety—a passport of introduction to the nations of the world comes.

The passport visa to Soviet Russia—well, Russia's ambition is to surpass America—the consulate in Berlin asked for a visa eleven dollars and a half, Poland is asking only a trifle to pass through her territory. We don't know what it would cost if one wished to stop at Warsaw, to take off his hat to Pulaski or Kosciusko and buy some goods from the merchants.

And, Germany! How refreshing to walk into the German consulate in New York, and in five minutes walk out with a visa, with "no charge!" That looks friendly. Germany says, "Come right in. We are not afraid of you. Look around. Take anything you like. Of course, you'll leave the right change before you go out!" In the good old days in America (when we were married and elected to go abroad) passports were unnecessary, except perchance we were going to Turkey and Egypt. Even then there was no charge! Future generations will describe this as the age of passports and finger-prints! How long, O Uncle Sam, how long! Might do America good to be defeated!

An ocean trip is a good opportunity for reflection. At least, that is the theory. There are however so many occupations that before one realizes it, the shout goes through the ship, "All off!" Especially if one is passenger on the "Bremen." Wonderful boat! Hats off to the Germans for their genius as boat-builders, for their commercial psychology! America and Britain were recently boasting over having the largest ships afloat and pointed to two boats. Alas, these two were German-made, and were spoils of war! And now, Germany has the two largest and speediest passenger boats in the world: the "Bremen" and the "Europa." We are glad of the swift recovery by Germany of the trade of the seas. We hope that she will be kept disarmed and pray that every defeated nation will always **win!**

What a marvel, this ship, "Bremen!" Each day filled with occupations scientifically arranged; deck-games all the day, gymnasium, swimming pools, motion-pictures one night and "horse-races" the next. No matter what class—first, second, third, tourist—all comfortable and too much to eat and drink. A "dry" was cheered by the bar-steward, with a grimace, remarking, "business is poor!" All the passengers enjoy watching the waters receding at the rate of over 27 miles an hour. One walks upon the "Bremen" Tuesday midnight. On Wednesday, 1 a. m. the ship slips anchor. Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Sunday slip by—like a shuttle-cock—and Monday morning 8 a. m. it is, "all off for Cherbourg!" It is speed that draws business—and these fast boats are getting it.

Yet, there is time for reflection. It was a rare opportunity to watch a full eclipse of the moon, while on the ocean. Why listen to lectures by deans, Millikan, Eddington, Smuts, when you can watch a motion display of real sky-life, and follow this spectacle of the moon being gradually absorbed and then gradually brought back to life! It is still the heavens that declare the glory of existence and proclaim that the hand that made us is divine. Put a score of the world's greatest scientists—Einstein in the front row—on the

deck of the "Bremen" and let them gaze upon the spectacle that greeted us in mid-ocean; and their faces will glow like the faces of the shepherds that heard the angels sing above Bethlehem. We need have no fear of the scientists. They are not so wise as reporters and publishers would have us believe. They do not actually know much. Best of all is, they know this to be a fact. And, all their real knowledge will lead men not downward, but upward. One who has crossed the ocean, seen a daily paper produced each morning, realizes that the mariner is steering by knowledge of earth and air and sky—accurately to the hidden harbor over the horizon—can not easily be scared by ghost-stories of the savants, about depth and height and length!

Must we continue to be fed on vicious propaganda against Russia such as the writer has recently read in the New York *World* (Paris edition) and the *Saturday Evening Post?* Do they want war? What is the matter with Mr. Curtis? Same stuff was pouring out some years ago, but about Germany! And *Collier's* leading article of misinformation on Russia by Mr. Tunney. Have we fallen so low that our gladiators speak for us? Wake up, "Collier" and Co.! The ghost of Lincoln will visit you.

What a strange and powerful influence Gandhi is exercising on the world. Thinking of London and the passing show of Jeans, MacDonald and Company, he shines out like a star in the East. If ever there was a parallel in history to the advent of Jesus, it seems to us to be found in Gandhi's going up to London. "Without form or comeliness." He shall not lift up his voice, nor strive, nor cry. The chief actors are all there—king, high priests, Sanhedrin, propagandists—watching and fearing him with his hold upon the multitude, but unwilling in heart to grant independence to the millions of India. Dramatic spectacle of Gandhi among the poor of East London, champion of the poor of the earth; the same place where Karl Marx resided for years and worked out the plans that are powerfully moving the millions of the Soviet Republics—and the world round. Dramatic spectacle, Gandhi with his spinning-wheel facing the workers of Manchester with their spinning machines—each having brought catastrophe to the other. And, Gandhi—or no man on earth—points out the way of life. Faith in truth as the life-principle. This with the method of non-violence. Almost a reincarnation of the "truth shall make you finer," and "resist not the evil-man!"

The ride up the British Channel from Cherbourg to Bremen is a solemn one. This Channel has been Britain's "Chinese Wall." Wars have been waged along this channel since the beginning of time, Britain's protector from the South. Also, Britain's fortress from which to pour soldiers and sailors. The millions of the sons of man whose dust has fed the poppies from Cherbourg to Bremen! The hideous forts that frown along both sides of the Channel, ready to destroy! But now, the Channel is about to play the part of the obsolete Chinese Wall. A day out from Cherbourg, an airplane soared from the deck of the "Bremen," and after two encircling salutes shot off toward London, carrying bags of mail. At Southampton, a submarine was seen rising and falling lazily on the waves. What now can the British "Chinese Wall" avail either for protection, or for commanding the lanes leading to ocean. What matters now when all nations can travel by air? The "freedom of the sea" has probably been won since the air is being conquered.

On the ride from Bremen up to Berlin, the impressions came rapidly. A conversation with an emigration officer brings out the fact that few Germans are emigrating. "Why?" "Two reasons: first, they can not afford to go; second, they are not admitted anywhere, especially are they kept out of Canada and the United States." What ails America? In the days of youthful glory, when she was half-brother to every nation, she flung her doors wide open, and said, Come! Now that she is powerful and rich she acts like the lord of a castle—and this too when the nations of the earth are in greatest need! One loyal citizen says shame! Such is the policy of suicide—industrial, social, spiritual. Loosen up, America!

Outside Bremen and Berlin—and other cities—one sees hundreds of little gardens, of a couple of acres each. A little shanty is on each one. These are worked by as many families in town, who come out for the day just to do the work and return to their homes. This is an effort to solve the problem of bringing citizens in touch with the soil. Henry Ford may have got his idea of every worker owning a piece of land from these German gardens—at least there is a like motive in both, and the idea is excellent.

Two people in our compartment were, one an English woman for the first time in Germany, the other a young German just returning from America. Said the woman, "I am sure I shall like Germany—everything is so clean!" Said the young German, "I like very much to work in America, but things are very dirty!"

On the basis of these two remarks, a loyal American would like to make an observation, which, if he had power, he would broadcast to every town in the United States, over 25,000.

If Americans kept their towns and cities as clean as Berlin and other German cities there would be no unemployment.

Literally hundreds of thousands—men and women—would find work in cleaning the streets and alleys and halls of buildings. The money would be easy to raise. It might rightly be made a health-measure. All sorts of organizations—schools, churches, clubs—would support it. We do not deny that there is an

economic cause of great concern behind unemployment; we are not averse to legislation and organization from the President down. We repeat and are willing to be laughed at by the wise and sophisticated, that:

If Americans kept their towns and cities as clean as Berlin and other German cities, practically all the unemployed would be absorbed in doing the job.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

UNITY announces a special "Gandhi Number," to appear at an early date. This issue will contain original articles and poems now being gathered, and will publish in full a recent address by Mr. Holmes entitled "I Meet Gandhi!"

LeGarde S. Doughty's striking poem, "Red Perihelion," published in the August 31st issue of UNITY, was recently reprinted in the *Literary Digest* with laudatory comment.

Who says that the League of Nations is not worth anything? Did it not, in its sessions last month, take steps looking to the prevention of the extermination of whales? This important job accomplished, perhaps Geneva will some day take steps looking to the prevention of the extermination of men—in war!

In Spain they have got the revolution so bad, that they are taking the kings out of the packs of cards. This reminds us that we saw no cards in Russia. Soviet decks undoubtedly have replaced kings with Lenins, queens with Stalins, and made *spades* the only suit.

"I brag and chant of Bryan, Bryan, Bryan."

So sings Vachel Lindsay in his famous poem. So may we all sing in these days of the abandonment of the gold standard and the government guarantee of bank deposits.

"There were truths eternal in the gab and tittle-tattle."

Indeed, there seem to have been!

One good stroke with an axe is worth a thousand whittlings with a pen-knife. If a thing is worth doing, do it with all your might! J. H. H.

Trumpets on New Horizons

By Power of Gold

The man who, in this age of pride and pelf,
Rears mighty mansions honoring himself,
Finds in his country's reverence just reward
For snatching bread from many a neighbor's shelf.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Impotence

Nothing that I have done can grieve me so
As what I have not done to serve my kind.
Much have I seen, but more have I been blind
To open roads I but begin to know,
Paths that I missed, adown the long ago,
That now I marvel I had failed to find;
Knowledge so ready to a living mind
It is incredible I looked so low.

Nor this the tragedy, that I have missed
The now impossible for me and mine,
So am I shortened by descending night;
Could I but waken to the kindlier light
Of this more salient day the youth who line
The galleries where life worth while is hissed.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Cry for Bread

A cry for bread is a little thing . . .
A thousand starve to feed a king.
Ten hundred die, ten hundred freeze
To give one man his wealth and ease.

A worker is thrown into darkening space . . .
With pain in his eyes, with haggard face,
He staggers up and down the street;
Standing in line for bread to eat.
His horse is famished; his cow is dead;
He fears his children's cry for bread.
In a fetid room with poisoned air
His wife sits helpless upon a chair.
His heart is numbed by grief and death.
God, what a price to pay for breath!

FANIA KRUGER.

Weeds

Others call him gone to seed,
A tangled ruin of tare and weed,
Untroubled within mouldy sod.
She finds the very proof of God.

MARGARET LATHROP LAW.

Reverence

Milady goes to church
Right reverently;
Dim, vaulted gloom receives
Her sanctity,
And where a candle lights her saintly face
She bends her knee.

The poor folk throng the door
In wretchedness.
Milady sweeps aside
Her costly dress,
That sordid filth may not pollute or stain
Its loveliness.

How does milady know
But that, somewhere,
God counts their bitter, thwarted cry
A prayer?
Milady does not know, nor does indeed
Milady care.

GWENNIE JAMES.

"Among the World's Greatest"

Kagawa of Japan

It is strange how difficult, if not impossible, it is to get at the true, the inner meaning of things, by direct methods. Indirect methods seem to be the most effective. Words, for instance, do not describe a sunset with its glory as music does. And what can best explain an idea but a story? When I set out to personally meet and get to know the world's modern saints, I did not expect to learn of them by talking with them directly as much as indirectly by observing how they lived, their attitude toward different people, members of their family, their associates, the rich and the poor.

So when I came to Japan I was glad to find that Kagawa was not at home.

"He will return in a few days," they told me.

This gave me a splendid opportunity to get acquainted with his co-workers, the work he is carrying on, as well as something of his personal history. The first thing that impressed me was the almost Spartan-like simplicity of their style of living, their enthusiasm, and their cheerful earnestness. They gave me Kagawa's speeches to read. Through them I got to know his convictions on many questions. I read the story of his life, which briefly sketched is as follows:

Toyohiko Kagawa is still a young man of forty. At an early age he showed such unusual ability that he was adopted by a nobleman and thus reared in an atmosphere of culture and refinement. He received part of his education in America's most aristocratic university, Princeton. He survived all this polish and veneering and emerged what he was born to be, a rebel. These lines of Bernard Shaw's from his play, "Man and Superman," fit very well in Kagawa's mouth, "As long as I can conceive of something better than myself I cannot be easy unless I am striving to bring it into existence or clearing the way for it. This is the law of my life." This is the kind of "rebel" Kagawa is. He has a spirit that is "divinely unsatisfied" with the status quo.

At twenty-two, he made an astonishing decision. It was after the doctors said that he did not have long to live, a few years perhaps. He decided to spend the little time he had left in living among the poorest, the most depraved, in the dirtiest, the awfullest disease breeding spot in Japan, the slums of Kobe. Feeling the need to hurry before the "white plague" should destroy his lungs, Kagawa lived a life of feverish activity and reckless abandonment, as if every moment was his last. He gave up a large inheritance, and became the friend of the needy, laborers, thieves and prostitutes. After eighteen years of living "across the death line" he lives today, stronger in body and spirit. Only his eyes have been hurt by trachoma. In the slums ninety percent of the people have it. That is one reason why Kagawa does not live there now. The other reason is his two little children. He says he owes them a healthier environment during their infancy. When his son is twelve then, he says, "I will go back."

I waited for Kagawa, on the day of his return, in an upper room of his little country house in the suburbs, midway between Kobe and Osaka. I saw him coming down the road between stubbled rice fields, a short-legged, squat, sturdy man. The smoked glasses he wore reminded me of his diseased eyes. He walked slowly, talking thoughtfully to a young co-worker at his side. So this is the man the Christian world knows as one, if not *the* greatest, of its reformers!

As Kagawa came slowly into the room, I noted that his face was grave. His greeting was short and unsmiling. He looked very tired. I said as much and started to leave. He insisted on my remaining, however. While a member of the household was bathing his eyes, I asked him:

"How are your eyes now, Mr. Kagawa? Is there any danger of blindness?"

"The left eye troubles me most. I am considering having a slight operation on it. The disease can be cured by a long rest, but I haven't the time," he said.

The bathing continued and until it was finished, neither of us spoke. With simple directness he opened the conversation, saying:

"What have you come to see me about?"

"Our lives and our aims in life are similar, and the reason I have started out to see you and Nishida, Gandhi and Tagore, is to see how you are putting your ideals into practice. In particular I wish to ask you this question. I am undecided whether to work in organized groups, for that seems to demand compromising. Working with labor against capital means taking part in a clash of selfish interests. Each side trying to get as much as possible and give as little as possible in return. Working in the church or a charitable institution means getting paid for being decent and humane. It is hard to stomach that. But the real difficulty is that I feel that neither one of these groups is getting at the root of society's problems. Now I realize that living in society everyone must compromise. The question is how much can one compromise without endangering the inner Light. In particular the question is whether it is best to go on working alone in a small way, or to cooperate with an established institution like a labor union?"

"I had a long talk with 'Bill' Simpson," said Kagawa, "and I like him very much, but you renounce too much. Nishida also! It is very easy to renounce. It is very easy for me to renounce, *very easy*. It is very difficult to reconstruct. Whatever our ideals, we must help people to make the next step. I say again, it is very easy to renounce. It is very difficult to reconstruct."

Kagawa himself certainly has renounced. When he went to live in the slums he renounced a rich inheritance and the prospect of a high position. Disinherited he lived an outcast among outcasts. He gave up cleanliness, culture, the life of his family and friends, his own life. Picture Shinkawa, the slums of Kobe, said to be the worst in the world. The district consists of one storied shanties. The people brood and squat like poisonous mushrooms on rotten ground. You enter a maze of dark, narrow, slimy alleys, so narrow that two people cannot pass one another without one of them giving way. The shacks are flimsy boxes. A strong man could push them over. They are dark, windowless affairs of only one room. People draw their water from small open wells located in the narrow alleys. The latrines are small open holes in the ground, in a dark corner of the shanty near the door. They are emptied by a scavenger now and again. Many

were overflowing into the narrow lane. Along the lane of the prostitutes we were eyed good-naturedly with inquiring stares. In other alleys idle men loitered. I was told that many of these men probably "work" at night. In a little open square a group of men were gambling, with boys looking on. Women stood chatting in their doorways while children, chickens and stray dogs played about. Piles of refuse here and there completed the picture. It is one thing to live here not knowing any better. It is quite another matter to live here and to give up what most of us consider absolute necessities as cleanliness, wholesome food, and healthful surroundings. Kagawa did this and continued foregoing ordinary comforts for almost eighteen years. So when he says that renunciation is easy for him, he speaks from experience. At the close of our visit to the slums, we passed up one alley to its end. There stood a shanty just the same as the rest except that this one was closed. In front two colored banners and other gay colors on the house itself gave the dismal surroundings a brighter aspect. "This," they told me, "is where Kagawasan lived." It has already become a landmark.

"What is your method of reaching these slum people?" Kagawa was asked by a missionary. Expecting a description of classes and technic, she was "stunned" by his brief reply:

"I love them."

Pressing him for advice as to how a foreigner in their country might work for them, the answer came again.

"Love them. Forget that they are Japanese and you American. Love can span all barriers."

"But," Kagawa added to another who agreed with him, "it is not sufficient to love, we must love intelligently."

What Kagawa means by loving intelligently is best expressed by summing up his activities. But first it is well to understand that Kagawa considers a change of heart, the right attitude as a primary need of the people in order to make a better society. In his talks to the poor, the laborers, tenant farmers and all classes of people who are seeking social justice, Kagawa stresses the right attitude as fundamental. He feels that changing a system say from Capitalism to Socialism without a greater spirit of service and unselfishness in the hearts of people is building on sand. One reason that he condemns the Bolshevik brand of Communism, is because it is a forced thing. Kagawa is absolutely against the use of physical force.

He feels that the world is surely progressing from private enterprise to the more human cooperative form. This is going on as people see the wastefulness of competition, with its price wars, useless duplication of work, blind over-production and the consequent periods of unemployment. Good-will and greater understanding of our economic world are quietly increasing. Thinking men recognize that *the next step* from private ownership is cooperative ownership. Cooperation is the product of intelligence, enlightenment and an increased sense of responsibility to serve society. As we practice greater unselfishness and service Communism will come. Kagawa says "History has no record of successful Communism that is not based on the idea of each man living as a servant of society." He has stated, "Mere preaching and worshipping is not enough. We must serve. When we forget to work for the improvement of society, religion becomes useless."

Kagawa's work is extensive. He is the author of forty books and translations. His book relating his life in the slums was Japan's best seller. It is called "Beyond the Death Line." He preaches and lectures constantly from one end of the country to the other. He is known everywhere. He organized the tenant farmers who are paying 50 to 60 per cent of their income to rent. His co-workers conduct lectures and schools to educate them in cooperatives and better methods of farming. He was one of the chief organizers of Japan's workingmen. A health clinic and two settlement houses are maintained out of the income he derives from the sale of his many books. Recently, his unceasing efforts brought fruit in the granting of universal manhood suffrage and in the appropriation of 21,000,000 yen by the Government to destroy and rebuild the slums in nine principal cities.

Thinking of all his many struggles for reform, I asked, "You must be subject to much abuse, bitter opposition and misunderstanding in your work. How do you keep from growing bitter and discouraged?"

"By grace," came his answer.

"Will you explain what you mean by that? Like the term 'God' it has a different meaning for each individual."

"By grace I mean a consciousness of God's love. I get great help whenever I meditate on God's love."

"I have been inspecting your library, Mr. Kagawa. I see you have a most comprehensive collection. What books have helped you most by the inspiration they gave?"

"It was on reading the life of Arnold Toynbee that I went to live in the slums. But the book that has inspired me most is the New Testament. The twelfth chapter of 'Romans' has been a guide and a comfort. I like some of the Buddhist canons very much. Next to the life of Jesus, there is the life of a Buddhist who as 'President of India' lived like a Buddha. The way this man combined pure, simple living with his administration of government appealed to me as a natural good life."

I had travelled across the United States from coast to coast and wondered what this man thought of our country. So I ventured to ask, "What does America need most?"

"To stop and think," he said, and we smiled in agreement.

"For America," he continued, " 'Bill' Simpson has the right idea, living like St. Francis. You need renunciation. You are too wealthy. In Japan we need more wealth. Only 18% of our land is arable. We need more, you need to do without," he said smilingly.

"What is your present work," I asked.

"We are translating Russell Smith's book 'The World's Food Resources.' I want to educate the people to use corn and wheat. Rice is not raised during the winter when they can raise winter wheat and winter rye. This will add to Japan's food supply. The people like rice best, but the poor mix wheat with their rice because they must. Rice is more expensive."

Now I understood why in Kagawa's household there was wheat mixed with the rice. In all things he does what he preaches. He lives on simple food, costing about $8.00 a month. He wears a blue corduroy suit for all occasions. His co-workers took the idea

up and now it is a sign of a Kagawa co-worker. The suit costs about five dollars.

"The biggest fight we have is against licensed prostitution." Here his voice took on new energy, and his face became brighter, as a swimmer joyfully faces a heavy sea. "There are 11,000 licensed brothels in Japan, with about 200,000 women in slavery. The politicians are strongly opposing us, and the priests too. Both get large contributions from this business. When we have meetings the police try to prohibit them."

The police do not find it easy to suppress Kagawa. He is a crusader of energy and intelligence. He uses every means short of direct force to bring reforms about. He is a great propagandist through his speeches and writings. He invokes strikes, boycotts; he is a great organizer of protest meetings, of unions, co-operatives, political parties and schools. The recent election under universal manhood suffrage has given him another means, legislation. The proletarian group elected eight representatives. At one time the Government thought him a dangerous radical, but his selfless work and simple living convinced the most hardened officials of his desire only to help the poor. During the terrible earthquake in 1923, when Tokio lay in ruins, he was made relief director and was a member of the Cabinet for three years.

Our further talk was interrupted by dinner. "This is my rest and recreation time," he remarked. "Just to be with my family is a rest."

It is a large family of nine. There were three young co-workers, a poor carpenter out of work taking food from this generous household. Then there are the young children, a boy and a girl, Kagawa's wife, and another woman, grey-haired and with a sweet face mirroring great peace of soul.

"Is that Mrs. Kagawa's mother?" I whispered to him as I watched her ministering to the family.

"No, she was a prostitute. She has been in our family for five years now," he replied.

I gasped inwardly at this startling revelation. It revealed an unexpected side of Kagawa and I viewed him with increased respect and admiration. The supper over, the others retired leaving only the immediate family. Kagawa's son is a bright little chap of about eight. He recited for us, accompanying the words with appropriate actions. It was refreshing. Then he and his father introduced me to Jan, Kem, Po, a childish game which they both played with much noise and laughter.

Although pressed to stay I took up my lodgings in the Settlement House in Osaka and for twenty days longer I had an opportunity of seeing Kagawa's work go on and subsequent short chats with him confirmed his great moral strength, his simplicity, his earnestness, his faith and love of the poor and the oppressed.

PAUL DROST.

Motion Pictures and America's Good Name

The motion picture is one of the most notable of modern benefactions and at the same time a conspicuous and pervasive social menace. Its contribution and its yet greater potentialities for the entertainment and the education of the people are immense; but hardly anything is doing more at this moment for their vulgarization and their demoralization. We see it in the moving picture theaters, which are becoming by far the most numerous and popular theaters, and where there are as many bad exhibitions as good ones; but we see it everywhere else. I was speaking recently in Boston at an educational institution for boys, founded for fine philanthropic purposes and doing a noble work. At the close of my address, the boys, three hundred of them in their hall, were entertained by a moving picture show. It was called "The Wreckers," and depicted the wild adventures of some reckless fellows wrecking railroad trains, killing many persons, simply to get them out of the way in the interest of an omnibus line which they were running. It was incredibly monstrous, a lesson in crime from first to last; but "something was doing," and the boys were hilarious. I know enough about the institution to know that its founder and trustees would never have sanctioned the performance; the matter of entertainment had been left in careless hands, and more damage was done than half a dozen laudable programs could offset. This is an illustration of scores of such things going on all around us in every city in the land.

One flagrant cause of the evil, of course, is the "block" system, by which the film makers compel the exhibitors to buy their films in blocks instead of by free choice as individual films. Good, bad and indifferent films are in the block, and what the buyer has to pay for he feels bound to turn to profit.

It is a matter affecting not only our own people, but every people to whom our films are being sent; and they are being sent everywhere in immense numbers, to the great damage of the foreign people to whom they go and the greatest possible damage to our own reputation as a nation. India, China and Japan have been flooded with these vulgar and demoralizing American films; the thousands who see them think them to be representative of our American life and people; and they are startled by the exhibits of the kind of people we are. A hundred missionaries can not counteract them in popular influence. So it is in Europe. Not until this summer did I realize through considerable study of the subject in Germany and England, how grave the matter is and what immeasurable harm is being done to our influence and our American good name.

When we were in London in July, there was a long and rather startling discussion in the *Daily Telegraph* of English feeling toward America. It was started by an American woman who had lived in England a year and wrote bitterly of the ill-will toward Americans which she found wide-spread and the slight attention in the English newspapers to any of the fine and important things in our American life, while there was always room for disreputable things. The floods were let loose; and during the next three weeks 60 persons, English and American, sent letters to the *Telegraph* on the subject; some were passionate but most of them temperate and discerning. The thing most worthy of attention was the frequent intimation that if people in England and Europe thought ill of us, our own people were responsible for it by sending over such masses of reports of things going on here which ought at least to seem as scandalous to ourselves as to English-

men. Many writers concentrated on our moving pictures sent over in such numbers as to glut the English theaters, and in the main presenting views of American life which inevitably compromised us in the popular English view. England was not responsible for these pictures of American life; America herself was responsible, and must take the consequences.

This symposium in the *Telegraph* has naturally commanded attention here; several of our papers have discussed it. The Springfield *Republican* published three columns of selections from the mass of letters and had two important articles about it, and this publication has had repercussions in London. Here I wish to quote what one of the English writers said about our motion pictures which have flooded England and are so largely shaping English thought about us:

> The Hollywood cinema star with half a dozen ex-husbands, the gangster, the share-pusher, the politician with his selfish foreign policy and contempt for the whole world,—all these loud noises make us swell with self-righteous anger. Is it too much to say that the sum total of the individual's feeling can make or mar the good will of nations? If you feel hurt at the unjust criticism of a few disgruntled letter-writers, remember that they are in the minority. We like you. We like to take you around and show you our peaceful villages, where the ancestors of a great number of you were born. But it can not be denied that in a certain section of the community there is rapidly growing up an unpleasant feeling towards you. These people regard an American as a lawless, immoral individual, who carries a gun in his pocket at all times, and changes his wife as easily as he changes his shirt, doping his friends, shooting his enemies, attending petting parties, and bathing "Follies" girls in champagne. Can you blame them? Every one of those absurd ideas has been placed in their heads by you. American film producers, American magazines, American news agencies, —these are the responsible people. Can not you do something about it? Can not your film producers cease staging the sordid, and the indecent and show up the lives you really do lead, the people that really count, the folk that make a great nation, the men and women that are fighting for truth and justice in public life and for decency and happiness in private life? Make your news agencies send us news that is news, that shows us how you work and live, your problems and how you face them, the countless acts of heroism in your great continent every day. We are tired of hearing that some Hollywood freak has divorced her fifth husband.

This is a sample. It is undeniably the American motion picture that is the chief instrument in working the undeniable havoc with American good fame in the great sections of the English common people of whom this writer and other writers speak. It is time for us to ask ourselves, as he so plainly asked, what we propose to do about it. We refuse to believe that our people and their government can do nothing about it. China is able to do something, and is setting an example in motion picture control as affecting herself. The *Christian Century* has the following note about recent action on her part:

> In order to ensure against motion picture films being sent abroad from China which may be damaging to the Chinese people, the ministry of finance has instructed the Chinese customs administration to prohibit their export unless previously reviewed and approved by the national film censorship commission. Thus China insists that the movies made in that country shall not be exported from the country unless they fairly represent the Chinese people. America not only permits the exportation of the worst of Hollywood pictures without any interference, but has instituted in connection with the department of commerce a bureau of motion pictures, whose function it is to increase the sale of American films abroad, no matter how much damage those films may do to America's reputation. Gangster pictures by the hundreds just now are going from Hollywood to nearly every nation under the sun and are being received in Europe and the Orient as representative of American life; and along with the gangster films are those of low sex standards. There are of course some good pictures; but the bulk of the export product is the unrevised and unsupervised mass of sentimentality or filth that Americans have come to think of as synonymous with Hollywood. Do the Chinese think more highly of their reputation than we of ours?

Our people of course have not been oblivious of their duty in this matter even if the duty has been feebly discharged. The Federal Motion Picture Council, if belated in appearance, is working laudably in the right direction, especially in demanding federal supervision of the foreign relations of the moving picture interests. The Council (119 Second Street, N. E., Washington) provides speakers for clubs and churches, and furnishes good literature for all applicants. In December it will have introduced in Congress a resolution providing for the creation of a special committee for proper investigation and action concerning the whole situation; and during the next two months men and women throughout the country who feel seriously on the subject should make themselves heard by their congressmen.

Most of our people are unaware of the extent and ramifications of the motion picture interest and influence. They would do well to read William Orton's article on "Hollywood has Nothing to Learn" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June. Mr. Orton's suggestions of ways to cope with the evils he exposes may not go far enough, and are certainly far from drastic; but his statement of the case is illuminating and startling. Few of our people realize that the motion picture industry is the fourth largest business in the world, entertaining 115 million spectators a week in the United States alone. Through the hands of the combination centering at Hollywood passes 98 per cent of the whole American output. It is a great part as Mr. Orton well puts it, of the "trustification" of the entire amusement business of America; and for the most part it is left to do as it pleases—and it has pleased to flood the country and the world remorselessly with the devastating products which have at last provoked the revulsion which we see and which it is to be hoped will grow more insistent until proper supervision and the imperative reforms are effected.

No one would make these strictures without full recognition and admiration of the wonderful artistic and educational works which have given us such miracles of accomplishment that their very titles are household words. The power for such production ought to be the pledge for the use of that power, as it is warrant for demanding check on its abuse.

The Twentieth Century Club of Boston which in the forty years of its existence has led in so many efforts, for educational advance and social reform, and which was deeply stirred last spring by a forcible discussion of this general subject, is at this time creating a special committee on moving pictures. It will study more searchingly than the public is commonly doing the real services and possibilities of the motion picture, enlighten its own local public on what of good and of bad is being offered it, campaign against abuses, and work for the best ways to check the evil which we are doing to other nations and to our own good name among them. It is earnestly to be wished that similar committees might be formed by corresponding organizations in every great city in the country and all duly associated in common and efficient endeavor.

Lucia Ames Mead.

Light and Air Bathing in Germany

[*Special Correspondent*]

One of the signs of the New Germany which greets the tourist, who has time to look somewhat beneath the surface of things, is that of Light and Air Bathing. The tourist who flits from city to city, visiting museums, cathedrals, and quaint old Rathauses, will scarcely have an opportunity to observe the Germans at their recreation, except perhaps, such as can be seen in the characteristic beer-gardens. For many Germans the hours of leisure, on Sunday especially, are spent in the open air, taking advantage of the Light and Air Baths. It is to be noted that this manner of passing the time is not called "taking a sun-bath," but taking a "Light and Air Bath." For this can be done even though the sun be not shining. Indeed, many are of the opinion that the influence on the body of light and air under a cloudy sky is even preferable to the exposure to direct sunlight.

It is indeed a splendid thing, this bathing in light and air! This sort of bathing was agitated in Germany several years before the war by those pioneers who sponsored the "Back to Nature" movement, which included, among other things, a meatless diet, hiking, and scorning collars and socks. These advocates of a greater freedom in bodily movements wore shirts with turndown collars, walked in sandals instead of shoes and, unfortunately, drew down upon themselves the ridicule of their fellowmen (who did not know their motives and cared less about inquiring into them) because they adopted such outer freakish notions as letting their hair grow long enough to fall gracefully, or ungracefully, according to its quality, upon their shoulders. Now this style of headdress is quite charming when seen in Oberammergau and in some similar rustic setting, but in the city it only served to call forth smiles and perhaps more marked expressions of amusement or even scorn. These pioneers, however, laid the foundation for a movement which has spread all over Germany and continues to win adherents steadily.

Doubtless the war, or rather, the aftermath of the war, had a great deal to do with furthering the idea. The privations to which the German people were exposed following the great conflict, resulted in undernourishment and a general lowering of the vitality. Ultraviolet ray treatment had been applied with good results to correct these conditions, but for the mass of people this treatment was not available, either technically or financially. So the physicians and social workers recommended that their charges spend as much time as possible in the great out-of-doors, bathing in light and air and sunshine.

To those who do not know how such a light and air bath is taken, a few words of explanation may be in order. The light and air baths are usually located upon a height above the city, or on a sun-exposed meadow beyond the outskirts of the town. A high board fence encloses the bath. Booths are built along the inside of the fence, a curtain of denim or tent-cloth serving as a door. In such a booth one undresses and dons a bathing suit or an "air-suit." Clothing manufacturers have been quick to furnish "air-suits" for women and there is a fine variety to choose from, made of cotton goods, jersey cloth or silk. Such a suit consists of short trunks, a sleeveless overblouse and a cap or three-cornered cloth to protect the hair. Sandals or "gym" shoes complete the costume. Men wear ordinary bathing trunks.

In the light and air bath are flat wooden benches, slightly raised at the head. On these one lies down. Some put a bath towel or an old blanket on it, if one doesn't care to lie so hard. Before exposing oneself to the air, light or sun, it is well to rub cream or oil into the skin. Of these there are a vast quantity on the German market,—all highly recommended through the advertising columns of newspapers and periodicals as guaranteed to make the skin "brown without burning." And indeed, if one makes use of one or another of these preparations or notices their effect upon others, it is true that skin receives an even, brown, sometimes almost bronze, tone, which is far superior and no doubt decidedly pleasanter both for the person concerned and for the on-looker than the burning, crab-colored, peeling skin which is seen so frequently at the bathing beaches of the United States. Lying on the benches is varied by playing handball, throwing rings or standing under the shower. Many baths are equipped with swimming pools. Men, women and children bathe together, this being known as a "Family Bath." Only where bathing in the nude is permitted are the sexes apportioned to separate enclosures.

Aside from the beneficial effects which such light and air baths have upon the body, the effect upon the soul or spirit is also very apparent. As is often the case, the invisible effects are perhaps greater than the visible ones. How many limitations and inhibitions we all have to overcome! How hampered we are by our bodies and how often we lack freedom of soul because we lack freedom of body! And a greater freedom of body is gained in a light and air bath perhaps more easily and quickly than in the exercise of some sport. Old and young alike lay off their false prudery with their clothes and rejoice in the freedom of breathing in the air, exposing themselves to the light and of greeting the sun. This freedom of body also has its effect upon their entire attitude toward life and toward their fellowmen. In a country so bound by tradition as is Germany, it is a splendid step forward for even a portion of its people to lay off the limitations of centuries and open the soul to the inflow of the rich blessings of nature. This attitude has already made itself noticeable in the breaking-up of the "age complex." Who would have thought it possible two decades ago that German men and women over fifty years of age would play ball in a meadow, clothed in the least possible garments, or perhaps entirely in the nude! Who would have believed it possible a generation ago that parents would permit their daughters to run about with bare legs, playing ball with young men even more scantily clothed? And yet this has happened and is happening.

This attitude of greater freedom has for all time freed the German girl from the restrictions to which she had been subjected for centuries. She has been freed from being tied to her mother's apron-strings.

From being something which was inaugurated by a few and later sponsored by the medical profession,

light and air bathing has become a "fad." As a result there is in Germany, as Samuel Longfellow expressed it in his beautiful hymn: "the freer step, the fuller breath, the wide horizon's grander view," which always results when persons come into contact with natural and God-given blessings.

HELENE ALPERS HAHN.

Heilbronn, Germany.

A Bottle of Milk

Tim Gowins knew that men did not have to die to go to hell. He knew it full well for Tim had heard his baby crying for milk . . . and there was no milk!

Tim lost his job at the steel mills when a railway dick, prowling through the yards, spied him once as a vulture spies carrion in the canyon. The railway dick told the straw boss at the mill that Tim was an ex-con, . . . that he had been sent up from Birmingham for robbery with firearms. . . . That was enough. Tim lost his job.

"This stuff of reforming is the bunk," Tim said to himself as he walked away. "I promised the wife that I would go straight. Then I get canned for my trouble!"

That night at home, Susie, the wife, was sick with the flu . . . the kid was hungry . . . outside the north wind was howling. So Tim, driven to desperation, sought help from the United Charities. But that great organization had gone to bed for the night! A baby could cry until morning for milk! The president of the great charity group worked on a rigid, business-like basis. The hours were from nine o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the evening.

However, Tim still felt perfectly at home along Crimeland's tangled paths. So, when Susie was asleep and the baby had stopped crying, the ex-con went forth armed with pistol and chisel in search of a bottle of milk.

The neighboring grocery was the nearest place. Tim, with the carefulness born of long experience, jimmied a window and entered, searching for milk. Then, out of the dark he heard a hoarse voice bark, "Hands up."

It was the night-watchman. Down at police headquarters Tim was arraigned before detectives who looked him over and nodded their heads in wise manner.

"A desperate character," the Bertillion expert said. ". . . A desperate thief . . . once a robber . . . always a robber."

"An habitual criminal," the District Attorney said. "He should be put away for the rest of his life. . . ."

"But my baby needed a bottle of milk," Tim insisted. ". . . I tell you it needed milk. . . ."

"Aw, shut up," growled a plainclothes policeman. "That's what they all say when they get caught. . . !"

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

The Study Table

Pre-War Politics in Germany

In the first volume of this monumental work* of Prince von Bulow, which covers the period of 1897-1903, the author has given his personal experience as a statesman. During this period the Prince rose from the position of the German Ambassador to Italy to that of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and then was promoted to the Imperial Chancellorship. Therefore it contains most valuable information regarding German foreign and internal policies and the cross-currents of world politics.

The book has been written objectively. The author has not shown any favor to any one. Although a great admirer of Bismarck, Prince von Bulow shows that the great Imperial Chancellor, the greatest of German statesmen, made a mistake in alienating Russia during the Congress of Berlin in 1878. He also shows his disagreement with Bismarck's anti-clerical policy, which had disastrous effect. Prince Bulow is most sympathetic in discussing the character of Kaiser William II, and repeatedly points out that the Kaiser was a man of peace. William was really afraid of war, but he made foolish speeches and loved demonstrations, which were taken for a desire for war. According to Bulow, the Kaiser wanted peace and the good of his people; but unintentionally he hurt Germany, and created international distrust regarding Germany's motive in world politics. The Kaiser's Krüger telegram, his aggressive speeches against China, his senseless anti-Asiatic propaganda, his personal quarrels with his uncle, Edward VIII, and with Lord Salisbury, the veteran British Prime Minister, his refusal to show common courtesy to the Russian Ambassador, Count Osten-Sacken and Foreign Minister Count Lambsdorf, and his patronizing attitude towards the Tsar, did not help Germany. His wild outbursts against Socialists and others who did not agree with him created confusion in internal affairs of Germany. Prince von Bulow's book shows that in politics none can ignore personal relations. Ill-will or distrust of one statesman is often dangerous to the cause of friendly relations between countries. When statesmen of different countries disagree, special care should be taken that such disagreement does not degenerate into personal enmity. Needless to say, Prince von Bulow has much to say about various German and foreign statesmen who played important parts in international relations during this period.

Prince von Bulow's memoirs are not popular among Germans in general and especially among those Germans who do not wish to see the faults of German statesmen. The Prince refutes the charges that Germany planned the World War; but he flays German statesmen for their incompetency. *German statesmen, according to Prince von Bulow, should have and could have prevented the war.* He recognizes the fact that Great Britain was jealous of German power and of the German navy, France was anxious to recover Alsace-Lorraine and humiliate Germany, Austro-Rus-

*"Memoirs of Prince von Bulow," Secretary of State to Imperial Chancellor, 1897-1903. Published by Little, Brown & Company. Boston, U. S. A. 1931. Price $5.00.

sian relations were dangerous; but the World War was not inevitable.

Possibly it will be wise to note the philosophy of statesmanship which guided Prince von Bulow in making the above judgment. A policy of peace with honor is the best thing for a nation to follow; but no real statesman should allow national interest to be trampled upon by any power.

"Provoke no one, but at the same time allow no one to tread on our feet. . . . Until philosophy takes a hand in reconstructing the world and until a system is discovered and enforced which shall be ideally just, protecting all rights and considering all interests, until that time, a nation which once lets pass a real and serious injury to its interests and to its honour will have to reckon with further injuries and violations.

Because of this conviction, Prince von Bulow was an advocate of a strong army for Germany. He supported the Kaiser and Admiral von Tirpitz in creating a strong German navy. *But he held that Germany must not provoke British hostility by her naval policy. The German navy should be a powerful instrument of defense.* Prince Bulow gives full details about the steps he had to take in creating the new German navy, and he felt that the Kaiser did not fully recognize the value and power of this great navy. The Kaiser refused to take a risk. If he had, he would not have prevented the navy from taking part in the Great War and attacking the British navy at the very beginning. In that case it might have changed the whole course of war.

Germany, according to Prince von Bulow, should have preserved friendship with Russia. Failure to do this brought about German downfall. Frederick the Great in his last testament wrote:

Of all Prussia's neighbours, the Russian Empire is the most dangerous in strength as well as in its position. The rulers of Prussia in my opinion have sufficient reason to keep friendly with these barbarians. . . . (p. 52).

William I, the grandfather of Kaiser William II, on his death bed whispered to his grandson and successor: "Keep on good terms with Russia; we have profited greatly thereby." These words contained not only decades of experience, but the whole history of Prussia. Nevertheless, Kaiser William II allowed himself to be led by Caprivi, Marschall, and—last but not least—Holstein, to denounce the Re-Assurance Treaty with Russia, although, after the dismissal of Bismarck, he had personally declared to the Russian Ambassador, Shuvaloff, that "the Treaty would be maintained by us." The denunciation was made in a wounding and unskilful manner. It had, as Bismarck had foreseen and prophesied, automatically produced the Franco-Russian alliance . . . " (pp. 53-54).

The failure of Germany to renew the Re-Assurance Treaty with Russia created a condition in world politics which was seriously disadvantageous to Germany. Bismarck tried his best to prevent France's finding a strong ally in Europe. Failure in German diplomacy gave France the opportunity to form an alliance with Russia which developed into the powerful Triple Entente. Prince Hohenlohe (the predecessor of Prince von Bulow) during his Chancellorship did his best to keep on good terms with Russia. He always emphasized the paramount importance of cultivating good relations with this country. He said to Bulow:

We must do all we can to make some amends for the consequences of the biggest piece of foolishness in the whole of our last seven years' policy, namely, the termination of the Re-Assurance Treaty with Russia (p. 11).

Prince Bulow, during his tenure of office as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Imperial Chancellor, did his best to cultivate Russian friendship. He realized that so long as the Franco-Russian Alliance was in existence, the best course for Germany to follow was not to allow Austria to be over-ambitious in the Balkans, and thus prevent a situation which might lead to a Russo-Austrian conflict which would involve Germany in a war with Russia. Prince von Bulow held that *"Germany had little to gain by a war and a great deal to lose."* (p. 29.) Therefore he repeatedly denounces Bethman Holweg, von Jagow, and other members of the German Foreign Office for allowing Austria to present the ultimatum to Serbia.

With the advent of Bethman, the leading position in the Empire fell to a man who knew nothing of foreign affairs and who, unfortunately, altogether disappointed those who hoped that he would gradually feel his way along and grow to an understanding of them. And when Kiderlen also vanished from the scene, to be replaced by von Jagow, who was as small in body as he was in mind, our Foreign Office became more and more a bureaucratic playground for mediocrities where the work that was done became more and more inadequate and where, in the end, hardly a single political intellect was left. Thus the Foreign Office of 1914 was the incubator in which the evil of the ultimatum to Serbia was hatched. It was here that nearly all the errors through which we entered the war and lost the war were committed (pp. 16-17).

Any German statesman, according to von Bulow, should have known that the Dual Monarchy was not in a strong position; and it was the height of folly for Germany to risk a war with Russia and France for the sake of Austria. Furthermore, Germany should not have declared war on Russia or France, but ought to have waited for the declaration of war on the part of her enemies.

Prince von Bulow has been blamed by some German as well as foreign statesmen for not forming during his term of office an alliance with Great Britain. Bulow gives details of Anglo-German relations, and his reasons for not concluding such an alliance. Prince Hatzfeld, German Ambassador to London, who knew England well and enjoyed the entire confidence of Queen Victoria; Count Metternich, who succeeded him; Holstein and Prince von Bulow all felt that Britain wished to form an alliance with Germany on condition German would side with Britain against Russia, while Britain was not anxious to give any adequate guaranty for Germany security. Germany could not accept such a one-sided proposition. The text of the reports of Prince Hatzfeld and Count Metternich, which Bulow quotes in full, are illuminating. Although Joseph Chamberlain made several advances for an Anglo-German alliance, Lord Salisbury, the veteran Prime Minister of Britain, never favored the idea, as he was in favor of an Anglo-French entente. Although there was no alliance with Britain and Germany became her serious competitor, yet there was no reason for the Anglo-German war which came to pass. Some Germans think that Germany could not have avoided the war, because of the "policy of encirclement" followed by the Entente. But Prince Bulow thinks that such an attitude is unbecoming a real statesman who above all must not be a fatalist. Here is Prince von Bulow's philosophy of statesmanship.

Statesmen, who believe that some unalterable Fate controls a situation, have only too often led those who entrusted themselves to their guidance into defeat and catastrophe. Courage

and ability may change the most difficult situations for the better. Within thyself are the stars of thy Destiny! It is true that in politics a studied reticence, the ability to wait and see, are often as necessary as boldness and daring are necessary at other times. I have never been able to understand that kind of passivity which causes a man to submit to an unfortunate situation in a cowardly manner, because he believes it to be hopeless. There is no political situation in which some advantage cannot be gained. . . . Anyone who is a fatalist and pays allegiance to an irrevocable Fate is lost before the battle has begun . . . (pp. 437-438).

"Memoirs of Prince von Bulow" is possibly one of the greatest and most important documents on world politics of the period. It is an objective and fearless study of men and events. It gives interesting character sketches of Queen Victoria, the Empress of Germany, the Tsarina, the Queen of Italy and their personal ideas in social and political matters. Above all it is the most interesting study of the personality of the Kaiser William II. If the study of history should be a sure guide for a statesman so that he might avoid mistakes, no statesman, no student of international relations, can afford not to read this great study of world events by one of the greatest statesmen of his time.

TARAKNATH DAS.

Against War

The author of this pamphlet,* the gallant editor of the *Arbitrator* magazine, is one of the most indefatigable and indispensable of our American peacemakers. His mind is keen, his knowledge ample, his spirit uncompromising. He is against war, and he proposes to do his part to destroy this "sum of all villainies" before it is too late.

The present pamphlet is a handbook for pacifists. Or rather it is a statement of pacifism for those who want peace but do not yet see or recognize the logic and sole effectiveness of the thorough-going war-resistant position. "This brochure is addressed," says the author, "particularly to those peace-lovers who by their acceptance of the war system enable governments to play into the hands of the military minority. Especially is the appeal made to those active workers for the cause of peace who realize the futility of war but are not yet convinced of the value of war-resistance."

The pamphlet is largely a refutation of the various illusions and superstitions that accompany the war argument. It riddles the easy-going idea that "everybody hates war," the dogmatic assertion that "human nature can't be changed," the fatalistic contention of "war's inevitability," the last-ditch refuge of "defensive war," and the empty myth of "preparedness." Particularly effective is a section on the "causes of war," wherein for once it is clearly seen and convincingly argued that "the causes of war need not lead to war," and that therefore, if we be civilized, we can get rid of war even while the causes (so-called) still remain. *"The chief cause of war is war"*—here is the fundamental truth in this whole problem of cause and effect.

Mr. Floyd's writing is urbane, restrained, cogent. His conclusion is definite—that "toleration of war in a civilized world produces spiritual degradation." The true pacifist must have nothing to do with war under any circumstances. In his last pages he lists the peace societies whose work should be supported, and appends a short bibliography.

J. H. H.

*"War Resistance," by William Floyd. Published by the Arbitrator Press, 114 East 31st Street, New York. Twenty cents, ten copies for one dollar.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 98)

world should find a place in college curriculums.

4. Children's Rights

This Conference of Women urges upon the Governments of the various Asian countries the urgent necessity for:—

(a) The introduction and enforcement of a suitable children's act for each country in order to safeguard the interests and inalienable rights of all children.

(b) The abolition of child marriage.

5. Equality of Status of Men and Women

This Conference realizing the inherent equality of women and men demands that efforts should be made to give them equal opportunities in life (where such do not exist):—

(a) By the abolition of polygamy.

(b) Equal rights in the guardianship of children and property.

(c) Equal rights of divorce.

(d) Equal adult franchise.

(e) Equal rights of nationality for married women.

6. Health

In view of the appalling mortality among men, women and children in all Asian countries (except Japan), this Conference calls upon the Governments of their respective countries:

(a) To spend more money on all health schemes.

(b) To institute researches into the causation of diseases peculiar to the East, and

(c) To provide facilities for the development of indigenous systems of medicines in the light of modern science.

7. Drink and Drugs

(a) Whereas the evils of drink and drugs have been fully recognized by this Conference, it demands that each Asian Government should identify itself with prohibition and take immediate steps to limit the production of alcohol, opium and other drugs to the quantity needed only for scientific and medical purposes.

(b) The Members of this Conference urge upon the women of Asia the importance of the preparation of Scientific temperance literature and the importation of it through the educational institutions of their respective countries.

8. Equal Moral Standard and Traffic in Women and Children

This Conference of women demands a high and equal moral standard for both sexes as essential to the stability of the family, the health and happiness of the individuals and the race calls upon the men and women of Asia to promote social purity by maintaining the highest ideals of the sanctity of sex.

It recommends to each country to initiate or amend laws so that:—

(a) Brothels and all forms of legalized vice may be abolished.

(b) Minors may be protected and the provisions of the International Convention may be enforced.

(c) The age of consent may be raised to 18 years.

(d) Victims (children and adults) may be rescued from vice.

(e) Procurers and those living on immoral earnings may be penalized.

(f) Maintenance may be secured for the unmarried mother and her child from the child's father and legitimization of the child.

9. Labor

This Conference realizing the wholly unsatisfactory condition of women wage-earners in industrial, agricultural and all spheres of unorganized labor throughout Asia strongly recommends an immediate survey of these conditions and demands legislation to regulate: 1. (a) hours of work; (b) wages, and to provide for: 2. (a) illness, accidents, old age; (b) maternity benefits; (c) proper housing; (d) medical inspection and aid; (e) prohibition of child-labor; (f) compulsory primary education, and facilities for adult education.

10. Right of Self-Expression

In order that every individual and every nation may have the unfettered right of self-expression for the en-

richment of the human synthesis, this Conference considers it imperative that each country shall have full responsible government.

11. World Peace

The nature of woman being to create and conserve humanity, the women of this Conference, realizing the evils and horrors of war, give their whole-hearted support to the work of the League of Nations and other allied organizations in their efforts to promote world-peace, and pledge themselves, belonging as they do to a continent renowned for its love of peace, to do their utmost both individually and collectively for this great cause.

To achieve this purpose members of the Conference should be appointed:

(a) To do propaganda in the towns and villages of their respective countries.

(b) To represent Asian womanhood at Geneva, and to travel to other countries with their distinctive message.

In regard to future work, it was resolved:—

That there shall be another Asian Conference at the end of two or three years. That a Secretary be appointed, and a small committee selected from among the delegates be chosen to carry on this work till that time, particularly investigating the possibilities of co-operating with the Oriental Women's Congress to be held in Teheran in the spring of 1933, and if this is not possible to correspond with other countries as regards choice of the place for the next conference to be held after a minimum period of two years.

To create a Bureau of Information about franchise conditions and qualifications in all countries.

It was resolved that the All-Asian Women's Conference enter into correspondence with the Women's International Committee, on the nationality of women for being included as one of the International organizations comprising the committee;

That a Committee of the All-Asian Women's Conference be appointed for special study of the problems embodied in our resolutions with sub-committees in each country for their special study and report a future Asian Conference.

*This Conference was an event of momentous significance in the history of the awakening East. We are indebted for these Resolutions to Dr. James H. Cousins, distinguished lecturer and author.—Editor.

Pacifists or Peace-Lovers?

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
405 West 117th Street, N. Y. C.

Dear Sirs:

In announcing your appropriation $705,594 for peace work during the coming year, you have expressed your intention to educate public opinion toward international peace and to support every movement for international co-operation. It is to be presumed, therefore, that you have considered the various movements now in progress for the abolition of war and that you are willing to have your position known.

Will you kindly state your attitude towards the following programs for peace?

1. Will you join the international movement to demand universal complete disarmament at the League of Nations conference in 1932?

2. Do you advise the United States to sign the optional clause of the World Court?

3. Will you explain to the people how to distinguish the aggressors from the defenders in each war?

4. Do you expect to educate the public to support any defensive war fought by the United States in Europe, Asia or Africa, or are defensive wars fought only on the soil of the defending nation?

5. Will you use your great influence to persuade all nations, especially the United States, to accept the Peace Pact literally as renouncing war, instead of with reservations permitting defensive war?

6. Now that substitutes for war are available, will you use your funds to support the international movement advocating individual resistance to any government that declares war?

7. Will you endeavor to obtain the release of prisoners now serving long terms in foreign jails for no other crime than refusal to take military training in peacetime?

Yours for peace,
Director, Peace Patriots.

Peace Patriots,
114 East 31st Street, N. Y., N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Answering your letter of May 11, I beg to state that I am requesting our Washington office to forward to you the latest year book of the Carnegie Endowment.

We receive so many questionnaires that it has been necessary to make a rule to refer the writers to the year book and to the authorized public statements in the press.

Yours very truly,
Henry S. Haskell,
Assistant to the Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

—*The Arbitrator.*

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A Way to Respond to Appeal of Dr. Einstein

. . . Let this generation take the greatest step forward ever made in the life of man. Let it contribute to those who follow, the inestimable fight of a world in which the barbarity of war has been forever renounced. We can do it if we will. It requires only that all who hate war shall have the courage to say that they will not have war.

I appeal to all men and women, whether they be eminent or humble, to declare before the World Disarmament Conference which meets at Geneva in February, that they will refuse to give any further assistance to war or the preparation for war. I ask them to tell their goverments this in writing, and to register their decision by informing me that they have done so. . .

I have authorized the establishment of the "Einstein War Resisters' International Fund." Contributions to this fund should be sent to the Treasurer of the W. R. I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

ALBERT EINSTEIN.

.....

Prof. Albert Einstein,
War Resisters' International,
11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

I wish to register with you as one who will never take any part in future wars. I will refuse to give any assistance in the preparation for war. I have written a personal letter to the President of the U. S., Hon. Herbert Hoover, accordingly.

Yours for the dawn of peace on earth.

Name (Miss, Mr. or Mrs.).....

Address (Street) .....

City ..... State .....